



RESEARCH PAPER

National Integration and Regionalism in Pakistan: Government's Strategy and Response toward Regionalist Demands 1947-77

¹Najeeb ur Rehman ²Mohammad Dilshad Mohabbat* ³Muhammad Wahid

- 1 Assistant Professor, Government Post Graduate College, Samanabad, Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
 2 Assistant Professor, Department of History, Government College University, Faisalabad, Punjab, Pakistan
 3 Ph.D. Scholar, Department of History & Pakistan Studies, University of the Punjab, Lahore, , Punjab, Pakistan

PAPER INFO	ABSTRACT
<p>Received: August 17, 2021</p> <p>Accepted: December 22, 2021</p> <p>Online: December 25, 2021</p> <p>Keywords: Demands, Ethnicity, Government Strategy, National Integrity, Nationalism, Regionalism</p> <p>*Corresponding Author: mdilshadmohabbat@gmail.com</p>	<p>The countries of South Asian region have pluralistic societies with different language, religious, and ethnic identities. Pakistan is no exception who is facing the challenge of regionalism since its inception. Different ethnic groups have been consistently raising their voices for separatism or autonomy within the frame work of an existing territorial state. The issues of provincialism, ethnicity, and regionalism is posing a serious challenge to the integrity of the country. This paper aims to explore the causes of the regionalism in Pakistan and intends to analyze the policies and strategies of different political governments which they launched to tackle this all important issue. The paper follows the historical method of research and analyzes different types of qualitative data to conclude the finding of the research. The paper develops the theory of "Regionalists Demand and Government Response" which shows how different regionalist forces put their demands and how the governments react on these demands. It recommends the grant of greater regional autonomy to the regionalists to enhance internal security and to protect the country from disintegration.</p>

Introduction

The issue of regionalism is one of the main challenges the world is facing today but it has become the most crucial problem in south Asia. The countries in south Asia are having pluralistic societies with numerous religions, ethnicities and languages. Pakistan has been encountering this problem since its establishment in 1947 which caused serious damage to its integrity and unity. Pakistan is basically a multi ethnic and multi lingual nation. Most of the people belong to five ethno lingual groups: namely Punjabi, Sindhi, Pushtoon, Balochi and Urdu speaking Mohajir. These ethnic groups are distributed according to their historical settlements in the region. There have always voices of separatism among these nationalities. Sometimes they demanded more autonomy within the frame work of an existing territorial state. After the separation of East Pakistan 1971, the remaining Pakistan could not resolve the challenges of regionalism, ethnicity and provincialism. From the

inception of Pakistan various governments adopted different strategies to face this problem but the principles and spirit of their policies were the same.

Asrar Ahmed Dr. in his book *Istehkam i Pakistan aur Masla Sindh* describes the issue of national integration . The author points out that policies of political elites created suspicion in the minds of the other provinces against Punjab. He also throws light on the causes of tussle between Muhajars and local sindhis. He gives some solutions to minimize the ethnic and regional feelings.

Feroz Ahmed in his book *Ethnicity and politics in Pakistan* points out that there are diversity of communities with different cultures, languages and economies. These diversities have not been addressed properly in Pakistan. He says that it is responsibility of state to recognize the all communities and give them their due status in Pakistani society to develop harmonious society in Pakistan. He points out that it was the failure of state not to accommodate political and economic interests of Bengalis which ultimately became the cause of separation of East Pakistan

M.S. Korejo in his book “A Testament of Sindh Ethnic and religious Extremism A perspective” analyzes the background of ethnic conflict in Sindh. He also describes the reasons which were responsible for ethnic conflict and religious militarism in Sindh. He stress upon the need of among the concerned stakeholders to solve the problem on ethnicity in Sindh. He presents different solution to obtain harmony in Sindh. The writer provides valuable discourse about the conflict of local Sindhis and MQM.

Mehrunnisa Ali in her book “Federalism in Pakistan” describes the politics of Federalism in Pakistan. She explains that in Pakistan federal set up did not create balance of powers between political forces in the center and political forces in the provinces. The ultimate results of these imbalances were provincialism and regionalism. The author not only describes the history of center and provinces relationship but also gives some suggestions to create harmony between center and provinces.

Tahir Amin in his book *Ethno-National Movements of Pakistan* explains the national and international factors behind the ethno nationalism in Pakistan. He presents the detailed and systematic study of Ethnic movements in Pakistan. He explains that Ethnic movements in Balochistan and Sindh are more serious threat to national integrity. The Pashtoon movement in NWFP (KPK) has lost its momentum with the passage of time due to national and international factors. The author contributed a lot in making the issue of ethnicity and regionalism in Pakistan understandable.

This paper explains the phenomenon of regionalism in the world and especially in Pakistan. It tries to examine the causes of regionalism in Pakistan and explore the policies and strategy of different political governments of Pakistan to deal this issue. What are the various policies of different governments to deal the grievances of regionalists in different provinces of Pakistan? It tries to explore the answers of the questions like: Why the policies of central government failed to pacify the regionalist in Pakistan? What are the national and international factors behind the tendency of regionalism in Pakistan? How different government had reacted on the grievances of regionalist and what were the strategy were

adopted by central governments to deal this challenge? What are the political and social behaviors of regionalists toward federal government? After analyzing the history of regionalism in Pakistan this paper develops the theory of "Regionalists Demand and Government Response" which shows that how regionalists put their demands before government and how government reacts on these demands.

Regionalism

Regionalism or love for a certain region is normally not an antithesis of nationalism; it may become a real danger if it works upon the basis of group consciousness and felt a dominant idea by a particular class of people in a nation (Abdullah,1992). There are several countries in the world where regional ideas have been recognized and group in-habiting the particular regions have been allowed to retain the characteristic features of their lives. This is however subject to the principle that their individuality does not adversely affect the central national idea which forms the Pivot and basis of the national structure.

It is necessary to define Nationalism first to understand Regionalism. "Nationality is a social factor as distinguished from the racial, linguistic, religious and civic community. The racial factor may help the formation of a nation but such a nation may not assume the status of a nationality. The same is the case with the religious and linguistic factors. According to Ramsay Mair Nationality is a Psychological group with a common outlook and common traditions based on the myth of common ancestry. National feeling is a state of mind resulting from history, social environment and education. It is clear from the above that nationalism is a state of mind engendered by myth of a common origin. But nationality in Africa and Asia developed as a negative phenomenon. It was a movement more against western colonialism than for a coherent national identity. In Europe nationalism was accompanied by industrial and democratic revolution and where common language and culture were key elements in growth of nation states. But in Asia and Africa language and cultural factors are not supportive of the growth of single nationalism. These new states most of them have illogical boundaries cutting across tribes and nationality group or which contain within themselves sub-national (Regional) groups whose leaders aspire to lead an independent nation state. So in these states regional identities provide social base for inter-regional and intra-regional power politics. That is why regionalism is an important aspect to understand the political process of these societies. In these countries regionalism does exist where such factors as geographic distinctiveness, local interest, regional, political and economic disparities and socio-cultural differences exist but, it emerges in more acute form where these factors overlap within a single region (Ali, 2000; Karamat, et. al. 2019). Economic, political; administrative and socio-cultural differences are the basic factors behind regionalism.

The feelings of regionalism are stimulated due to certain conditions. Acute ethnic variations in the federal society as exist in Canada, Yugoslavia Pakistan, India and Nigeria. Excessive centralization accompanied by authoritarian rule. This has been the major factor behind the growth of regionalism in Pakistan. Weakening hold of the unifying force such as religion or of the desire to continue, to live as an integral part of one political unit as happened in East Pakistan. Political, economic and administrative domination of one

region over other units due to its size — population and richness in natural resources such as Punjab in Pakistan, the northern states in India and Serbia in Yugoslavia. Presence of regional based political parties as present in Pakistan also contributes in creating the phenomenon. Geographical boundaries, histories and languages also play an important part in rising of regionalism; Pakistan is the classic example of these phenomena.

Types of Regionalism

There are three major kinds of Regionalism

Intra Province or State Regionalism

Intra province/state regionalism means the demand of self-identity by one or more parts and one or more communities within a province such as difference between old Sindhis and Muhajirs, demand of Saraiki province in the Punjab, the difference between Pashtoons and Baluchi in Baluchistan

Inter State Regionalism

Interstate regionalism means unequal distributions of national resources and unequal development and competition among the provinces as the conflict between East and West Pakistan before 1970. The issue of Punjabi hegemony raised by Sindhi, Baluchi, and Pathan, explains this kind of regionalism (Jalal,1988). Some regionalists in 1985 formed the Sindh Pustoon and Baluch Front (SBPF) to challenge the Punjabi hegemony (The Muslim, 1986).

Super State Regionalism

This is an expression of group identity living in more than one state. The issue of Pakhtoonistan, Greater Baluchistan in Pakistan is illustrated this kind.

The feelings of regionalism have always been existed in the world since the idea of nation state. But now it has become a powerful political force in political history of the world. Regionalism gets strength from ethnic and cultural nationalism and failure of nation state to maintain high level of political allegiance the economic grievances is the main cause of the problem. Regionalism can be seen in plural societies rising out of multilingualism multi religions, local disparities in level of economic development, dominance of local and regional traditionalism ethnic differences or identities (Gupta,1987).

These things develop social political movement to protect in indigenous culture in particular region and some time advocate Se-cession from nation state. Regionalism is threatening the nation's territorial integrity by strengthening regional loyalties and identities at the expense of national one.

Regionalism is a dominant theme in Pakistan. Ever since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the dilemma facing the nation has been to create a viable nation identity out of diverse regional and linguistic loyalties. Ironically for the last 60 years Pakistan has failed to resolve this dilemma. After creation the most dangerous challenge to Pakistan's integrity

came from separatist irredentist forces operating along ethnic or cultural and regional lines (Wilson & Dolton, 1982). In order to understand the problem of regionalism, it is necessary to examine past history.

Regionalism in Pakistan 1947-1970

Regionalism has been a dominant theme in Pakistan. Ever since the creation of Pakistan in 1947, the dilemma faced by the nation has been to create a viable national identity out of diverse regional and linguistic loyalties. Ironically for the last seventy years Pakistan has failed to resolve this problem. After the creation of Pakistan the most dangerous challenge to Pakistan's integrity came from separatist forces operating along ethnic or cultural and regional lines. In order to understand the problem of regionalism, it is necessary to examine the past history of Pakistan.

Pakistan inherited the regionalism which was dormant during the British Raj but it began to reemerge after the creation of Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam realizing the implications of the problem warned the nation about the danger of Regionalism (Jinnah: Speeches) "Now I ask you to get rid of this provincialism because as long as you allow this poison to remain in the body politic of Pakistan, believe me you will never be a strong nation and you will never be able to achieve what I wish we could achieve... So make up your mind and from today, put an end to this sectionalism".

After his demise the major problem which was faced by his weak successors between 1947-58 was the growing ethnic and regional conflict between the Punjabi and Bengali and other ethnic groups like Sindhi, Pathan and Balochi (Syed, 1980).

Regionalism in East Pakistan

East Pakistan was almost a thousand miles away from West Pakistan and contained more than half of the country's population (Zering, 1980). But their voice in government circles was weak or ignored. The British government in India was reluctant to recruit Bengalis in military and civil bureaucracy. After the creation of Pakistan Muslim League Government did not change this policy. The military and bureaucracy in East Pakistan largely composed of refugee's communities, from India, N.W.F.P and Punjab. The issue which created the feelings of regionalism and widened the gap between East and West Pakistan was Bengali language controversy. When central government declared that Urdu was the state language, most of the Bengalis opposed this. Eye witness accounts like Ata-ur-Rahman, Adul Mansoor Ahmed and Ayub Khan (Commanding officer of East Pakistan) witnessed the high state of mobilization among the students (Rehman, 2006). Quaid-i-Azam, somehow or other, tried to manage this affair. But in Feb. 1952 major rioting erupted in Dacca over the language issue in which several students lost their lives. Later on Bengali was accepted as second language. This incident had matured the Bengali nationalism and regionalism (Syed, 1967). Since then, Feb. 21, (the firing day) has been observed as "Shaheed Day". The defeat of the Muslim League in East Bengal in election of 1954 was due to the language issue. United Front Ministry was formed after the election but this Ministry was dismissed by Central Government. This created feelings that they were ruled by another

form of colonialism. In the subsequent years Bengali regionalism was transformed into political movement. During the 50's the economic disparities became more intensified between two wings. The greatest criticism was that foreign exchange earning from Jute (the main East Pakistani Export) is used in West Pakistan (Talbot, 2000). On the other hand East Pakistani representatives in the constituent Assembly always took firm stand on the question of provincial autonomy. The first concrete demand on this question was put forward in 21 points manifesto of combined opposition Parties in 1954 election. According to K.B Sayed, "The East Pakistan's leader demanded maximum autonomy because they wanted fast economic development for East Pakistan." Apart from economic disparity the major grievances that East Pakistani concerned more was the disparity in the armed and civil services. The military regime of 1958 increased the Bengali political elite alienation, and this was disastrous for national integration because there was less representation of Bengali people in armed forces. The authoritarian rule of Ayub increased the regional grievances in East Pakistan. So by the end of Ayub's Regime regionalist forces gathered strength and momentum. After the fall of Ayub, Yahya Government announced general elections in 1970. In this election Awami league got a sweeping victory in East Pakistan due to its 6 Point program which demanded greater regional autonomy for East Pakistan. After election's result a power politics started between Z.A. Bhutto's PPP, Majib's Awami league and President Yahya Khan which ended in the creation of Bangladesh.

Regionalism in NWFP

The regional movement in NWFP was a pre partition legacy. The origin of pushtoon movement of NWFP, the Jeeya Sind movement of Sind and Baluchi movement of Baluchistan lie in the pre-partition regional autonomy movements of British India. (Amin,1988). The Pakhtoonistan movement on the eve of the creation of Pakistan was the strongest of the three movements in terms of public support. The demand for the creation of a separate state called Pakhtoonistan to (include all Pushtu speaking areas in NWFP, some part of Baluchistan and Afghanistan) dates from the creation of Pakistan. The actual position was that Abdul Ghuffar Khan and his Red shirts did not support the creation of Pakistan. Pakhtoon regionalism was inspired by its language, race (being Afghan by origin) and memories of history. On the other hand Afghanistan played a direct role to intensify the issue of Pakhtoonistan. The decision to merge all four provinces into one unit in 1955 was strongly protested by Afghanistan and created tension in diplomatic relation between Pakistan and Afghanistan. During one-unit era (1955-69) the leaders of Pakhtoonistan movement demanded the dissolution of one unit and greater Provincial autonomy. According to Tahir Amin when autonomy movement for East Pakistan matured then there was a gradual decline in power of Pakhtoonistan movement.

Regionalism in Sind

A provincial autonomy movement in Sind started in 1917 against administrative arrangement of British Government. This movement was led by traditional landed elite of Sind. The word Sindhu Desh was first time used during this movement. Both the Congress and the Muslim League supported the demand to separate Sind from Bombay. Sindhi elite supported the demand of Pakistan because they wanted to get rid of the Hindu dominance on the economy of Sind. That is why, Sind assembly was the first to pass resolution in favor

of Pakistan. G.M. Sayyid was the prominent leader of Sind who disassociated from the League in 1945 against the dictatorial, highly unitary policies of the Muslim League. At the creation of Pakistan G.M. Sayyid and small section of educated middle class demanded independent peoples republic of Sind after the withdrawal of the British. But it did not pose a great challenge because mass support was in favour of Pakistan. The first thing which created the sentiments of regionalism in Sind was the allotment of agricultural land to non Sindi who had refugees migrated from India (Manzir,1994). After partition the second thing which created resentment in Sind was the decision of federal government to declare Karachi as federal territory. The daily News Paper Al-Twoohed strongly criticized this decision. Gulam Nabi Pathan Ex-Secretary General of Muslim League said. "If Karachi separates, from Sind, we will tear into pieces the Lahore resolution."

Muhammad Ayub Khuro (Chief Minister of Sindh) gave a call on July, 2 as the Karachi day (Saleem,1993). The Situation became peaceful due to intervention of Quaid-i-Azam. In 1955 one unit was formed and Lahore was its capital; the Sindhis were left without adequate voice to represent their aspiration. So feelings against "Punjabi" aroused because they dominated the administrative structure. The allotment of barrage land to army and civil personals created serious resentment among Sindhis (Din,1992). They condemned the allotment of Sindh land to absent, non Sindh landlord. They also expressed dissatisfaction with the Muhajir Community that exploited the province commercial wealth. Through out the first parliamentary period, Ayub and Yahya regimes the regional movement in Sind remained at cultural level. The rise of PPP under Z.A. Bhutto who was Sindh raised a hope for Sindh and PPP exploited the regional issues and get heavy votes in 1970 elections in Sindh

Regionalism in Baluchistan

Baluchistan under British was divided into three parts, British Baluchistan, Baluchistan state and tribal area. In 1921 a movement started in the name of Anjman Ithad-i-Baluchistan to establish greater Balochistan. The prominent leaders of this movement were Khawja Khail Mailk, Ghas Buksh Baznjo etc. It also associated with All India states people's conference, a subsidiary body of All India National Congress. Ahmad Yar Khan, The Khan of Kalat was also ambitious for independent state of Baluchistan like Nepal. He wanted to unite this area under his leadership. Later on he was forced to accede to Pakistan. Disturbance started under the leadership of his brother prince karim in 1948 which ended after a short period. Then again disturbance started in 1958 after the arrest of Khan of Kalat. Through out Ayub era period there was unrest in the area of Baluchistan. When one unit dissolved, for the first time Baluchistan province came into being in July, 1970 (Rafiuzzaman,1970). The main political organizations which were working for Baluch regionalism were Ustamangal in 1955 and later merged into NAP, NAP and Baluchistan student organization (B.S.O) which was established in 1967.

Challenges of Regionalism 1971-77

The political crises of 1971 which became the cause of the demise of old Pakistan (East and West Pakistan) was directly related to regionalism. After 1971, it again became

alarming in new Pakistan (West Pakistan.) Regionalism reemerged with greater vehemence and regained momentum. In Punjab and Sindh, Bhutto succeeded in containing the inter-regional and intra- regional problems because these two provinces were the support base of PPP. However, in NWFP and Balochistan Bhutto proved a failure in curbing regional forces (Kaushik, n.d.). Throughout Z.A. Bhutto period, the Punjabi regionalists raised the slogan of Sindhi domination where as regional chauvinists in Sindh complained of neglect of their vital interests. For his political survival, Z.A. Bhutto maintained a balance in satisfying the regional aspirations of both Punjab and Sindh. In NWFP and Balochistan, Z.A. Bhutto adopted the same policy as earlier applied by Ayub and Yahaya to crush regional movements.

Z.A. Bhutto's excessive personal rule and radical postures displeased Punjabi regionalists. The most potential challenge to Z.A. Bhutto leadership came from the former Governor and Chief Minister of the Punjab Ghulam Mustafa Khar. He was against Z.A. Bhutto's nationalization and land reform policies. He bargained with the Prime Minister for "Punjabisation" of the politics of Pakistan. As a result Z.A. Bhutto appointed Hanif Ramay in place of Khar but he proved less effective. He ousted him and appointed Sadiq Qureshi, a politically unambitious man. After their ouster, Khar and Ramay, Bhutto was threatened by them through their "Save Punjab Movement." Demand for a province of Bahawalpur separate from the rest of the Punjab caused considerable tension in the province. This demand was due to the social conflict between Punjabi Abad Kars and the native Saraki speaking population. Violence was reported from parts of Bahawalpur but the situation was not so severe. The liberal organization like, the Punjabi Adabi Sangat" insisted upon integrating the two Punjab's (East & West) of the subcontinent on the basis of common socio cultural heritage. Being a wise politician, Bhutto succeeded in countering the regional challenge of left oriented Punjabism."

In his own home province, Z.A. Bhutto was also faced mounting challenges in the form of inter- regional and intra -regional issues. Tensions between native Sindhis, on one hand and partition Muhajirs and Punjabi Abadkars on the other resulted in riots at Hyderabad on 27th January 1970, in which pro PPP Jay Sindh elements were reportedly involved. Such tension grew and eventually broke out in wide spread disturbances in early 1972. The PPP government in Sindh on 7th July 1972 adopted Sindhi as official language non Sindhi protested against this. So a violent confrontation started in which forty seven persons died during July and August and damage to property was extensive. However Z.A.Bhutto managed the affair to make Urdu as second official language of Sindh. On the one hand Z.A. Bhutto tried to tackle the regional tension in his home province through constant tours the important areas of the province.

Secondly, he replaced Mumtaz Ali Bhutto with Mustafa Jatoi as Chief Minister. Jatoi imposed strict restrictions on the regional chauvinists. On the whole, Z.A.Bhutto tactfully controlled the regional threat from Sindh. Muhajir community pressed for the formation of Karachi as an independent province. (Jhones, 2001) But Z.A.Bhutto did not pay any head to this demand. Somehow or other Z.A. Bhutto succeeded to suppress the feelings of regionalism in Sindh and Punjab but in NWFP especially in Baluchistan, he faced a lot of problems in this regard. In Baluchistan and NWFP, PPP had hardly any strength at all. This caused intractable problems as long as Z.A. Bhutto remained in office (James, n.d)

Factors of Regionalism in Pakistan

Growth of Regionalism in Pakistan can be attributed to many factors.

Colonial Legacy

There were strong regional movements in 3 provinces i.e. Sindh, NWFP (KPK) and Baluchistan for autonomy against British. These movements allied to Congress such as Kalat State Nation Party established in 1937, Red Shirt in NWFP (KPK). Some traditional landed and tribal elite influenced by Congress. Some leaders have their own regional aspirations like G.M. Sayyed in Sindh and A.K. Fazal-i-Haq in East Pakistan.

Avoidance to Accept the Regional Loyalties

With the disappearance of British after 1947 primordial forces of race, cast, language and regional loyalties reasserted themselves in India and Pakistan. In India States reorganization commission which was established in Dec. 1953 acknowledged centre based regionalism. But in Pakistan Muslim league ideologists avoided to accept these realities. Ignoring the differences of culture ethnicity and geography among the provinces they formulated a new ideology on the basis of 3 things 1. Pakistan was a nation (East and West). 2. Pakistan was a home land of all Muslim migrated from India. 3. Urdu would be the national language of Pakistan. In fact the creation of a one nation was the long run goal of Pakistani leadership but they failed in their goal because they imposed uniform national unity from above and with force rather than a slow growth from awareness of independence which is not incompatible with diversity (Ahmed, 1974).

Dominance of one region over economy

The one major cause of regionalism in Pakistan is the dominance of one region in economy and politics (Ahmad, 1992). The other regional communities like Sindhi, Baluchi, and Pathan are being critical of the dominance of Punjab over economy and civil military bureaucracies. They thought that Punjab dominance would continue and remain unchallenged for a long time to come.

Centralization Accompanied by Political Authoritarianism

One important cause of the failure of the national building in Pakistan therefore is the political system which has come into existence over the years. The feature of this political system is authoritarianism and centralization. The central government dismissed the provincial governments in its quite early history of Pakistan. In early years the central government also established tribunal for the accountability of elected representatives. The first seven years of Pakistan witnessed the establishment of one party state (Callard, 1957)

Economic Disparity

Economic development based on capitalist line has generated both class and regional conflict. (Wilson & Dalton, 1982) Capitalist development almost accompanies

increasing income inequalities in every field and Pakistani experience shows that these, regional disparities are potentially the most explosive. There have been wide regional inequalities among four provinces during 1959-60 to 1969-70. Some critics pointed out that regional inequalities are of historical origin. These inequalities existed to some extent before Pakistan however by 1959-60 they firmly established.

Absence of Consensus in Muslim League about the Future Agendas for a Nation State

There was an absence of consensus what kind of nation to be built. The ruling party divided on this issue. The liberal wanted to establish a state like state in the West. The ulema wanted to construct Islamic state and small majority in Muslim league in favor of socialist state. These differences were dormant in Pre-partition era but after it these became more prominent in politics.

The second thing was that Muslim league did not devise any policy for settling regional claims within the party. For example the issue of centralization of power within the organizational structure of the Muslim League and issue of language were two critical issues which were left unresolved. Muslim league had highly centralized structure with more power in the hand of central leader. This legacy was also present after independence and became a source of resentment of provinces. The one important thing is that organizational structure of Muslim league in NWFP, Baluchistan and Sind was weak. Muslim league was not able to counter the regional aspirations properly.

Absence of Nationally Based Political Parties

After the creation of Pakistan Muslim league became weak and many other political parties came out from its body. In this atmosphere there was no strong political party in Pakistan which had its roots in all Pakistan. There were many political parties on regional basis. NAP came into being by merger of several regional political parties. Its political demands were not on national basis but only on regional basis. The result of 1970 elections showed that there was no national level political party. Awami league had popular mass support in East Pakistan while PPP in Punjab and Sind. NWFP and Baluchistan had their own regional political parties which were participated in the elections.

Ethnic and Linguistic Difference

Pakistan is a multiethnic and multi lingual state. The Baluchies, Pathans, Sindhis and Punjabi can be viewed as distinct ethnic categories while the tribal and non-tribal division marks several ethnic groups (Phadnis,1984). All these ethnic groups have their own language and separate culture.

According to Lawrence Zering these ethno culture tendencies could not overcome quickly but unfortunately Muslim league government interpreted it a threat to national consolidation. The government reaction was based on use of force rather than understand this problem. So Muslim League leaders proved it to be ill equipped to deal with this problem.

Question of Provincial Autonomy and Representation in Central Legislative

The major constitutional conflict that took place in Pakistan was on the issue of provincial autonomy and representation of major regional groups in the central legislature. In fact a demand for the autonomy expressed itself in a demand for recognizing ethnic regions in Pakistan. The demand was more forceful than those emphasizing Islamic order and unity of democratic order. Therefore regional conflict raised its head at very moment of the creation of Pakistan (Sayeed,1967).

One Unit Scheme

The unification of West Pakistan in to One Unit occurred in March 1955 created bitterness among the Punjabis, Sindhis, Pustoons and Baluchis. This created serious suspicions among three other regional and ethnically minority groups. While in Sind and NWFP the opposition to one unit was deep and wide spread. It was the Baluchistan who put up stiff resistance. Some Baluchi tribes particularly in Kalat division revolted against the government and for six months 15000 soldier battled against rebels in the mountains of Baluchistan.

Class Conflict

There was also a class conflict, which contributed a lot to the bitterness in the regional relations. In case of East Pakistan this class conflict in-extricable by mixed with regional conflict because the ruling class emanated largely from West Pakistan. Hamza Alavi put a hypothesis of "Salariat class" in this connation. Salariat class means auxiliary classes whose class role can be fully understood with economically dominated class.

He explained this phenomenon in Pakistani context. According to him in Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan the most salariat at class was from Hindus which were driven in 1947. The gap filled by the salariat class came from North Western India and from Punjab. Punjabi were in large number in army and bureaucracy so they were the new bearers of the privilege. The weaker salariat from Sind, NWFP and Baluchistan did not share this accordingly. They redefine their identities as Bengali, Sindi, Pathan, and Baluchi and they demanded fairer shares for themselves (Alavi, 1989).

Political Instability

Since its inception, Pakistan faced the problem of political instability. During 1st democratic era (1947-58) no political government functioned properly due to alliance of military and bureaucracy. In 1958 military assumed power. It curtailed the political process because army did no like political parties and politicians (Rizvi, 1997). So all the powers controlled by one person. This provided a favorable ground for the development of regionalism in different parts of Pakistan.

Government Policies and Response towards Regionalism

Faced with the growing challenges of regionalism in first phase (1947-70) the government adopted the policy to pacify the regionalists by different means.

Islamic Bond

During the initial years when this problem faced by the government it simply adopted the slogan of Islam to deal with regionalism. They thought that during Pakistan movement "Islam" united the all Muslim of India under one banner. Quaid-i-Azam and even his successor Liaquat Ali tried to deal regionalism in this manner. The common man was told that the greatest factor responsible for the creation of Pakistan was Islamic bond to overcome any division. Quaid-i-Azam advised the regional groups that they should think of themselves as Muslims and Pakistani first rather than as Bengali, Punjabi or Pakhtoon (Jinnah, Speech March 21, 1948). So Government adopted the policy of Islamic appeal for purpose of nation building.

Principle of Parity

Government tried to resolve the conflict of Punjabi and Bengali elite with principle of parity of representation. The acceptance of Bengali language as second national language and adoption of the principle that if Prime Minister from West wing then President will be from East wing and vice versa. The scheme of one unit was also adapted to low down the regional feelings.

Quota System

During Ayub's era measure were adopted for the removal of economic disparity between the provinces. In 1962 Constitution East Pakistan's share of public sector resources increased from 36% to 47%, and quota system introduced in services. Government made lenient in the physical qualification for recruitment in the armed forces for Bengalis.

Use of Force

Government adopted some coercive measures to subdue the regionalism, from very beginning Even during Quaid-i-Azam time, NWFP and Sindh ministries were dismissed and military action took place in Baluchistan. Ayub government also adopted the same policy to suppress regionalism by arresting a number of regional leaders including Mujib, Ghuffar Khan, Wali Khan, Akbar Bugti who were agitating for provincial rights. Troops were also engaged in Baluchistan to put down the disturbance.

Reconciliation

After Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan Regime adopted conciliatory policy towards regionalist of west wing to accept their demand to resume the former four provinces, but his policy in East Wing was less accommodating due to the demand of six points.

Z.A. Bhutto

After the separation of East Pakistan, the problem of regionalism in Sidh, Punjab, NWFP (Now KPK) and in Baluchistan threatened the integrity of Pakistan . Z.A. Bhutto succeeded to counter regionalist aspiring in two provinces i.e. Sindh and Punjab by his skillful political maneuvering. But his political policies proved failed in pacifying regionalist factions in NWFP as well as in Baluchistan. So in these two provinces, he adopted repressive policy against regionalists like Ayub Khan. This strategy did not give productive results to calm the regionalists and its political out comes were dangerous for national integrity.

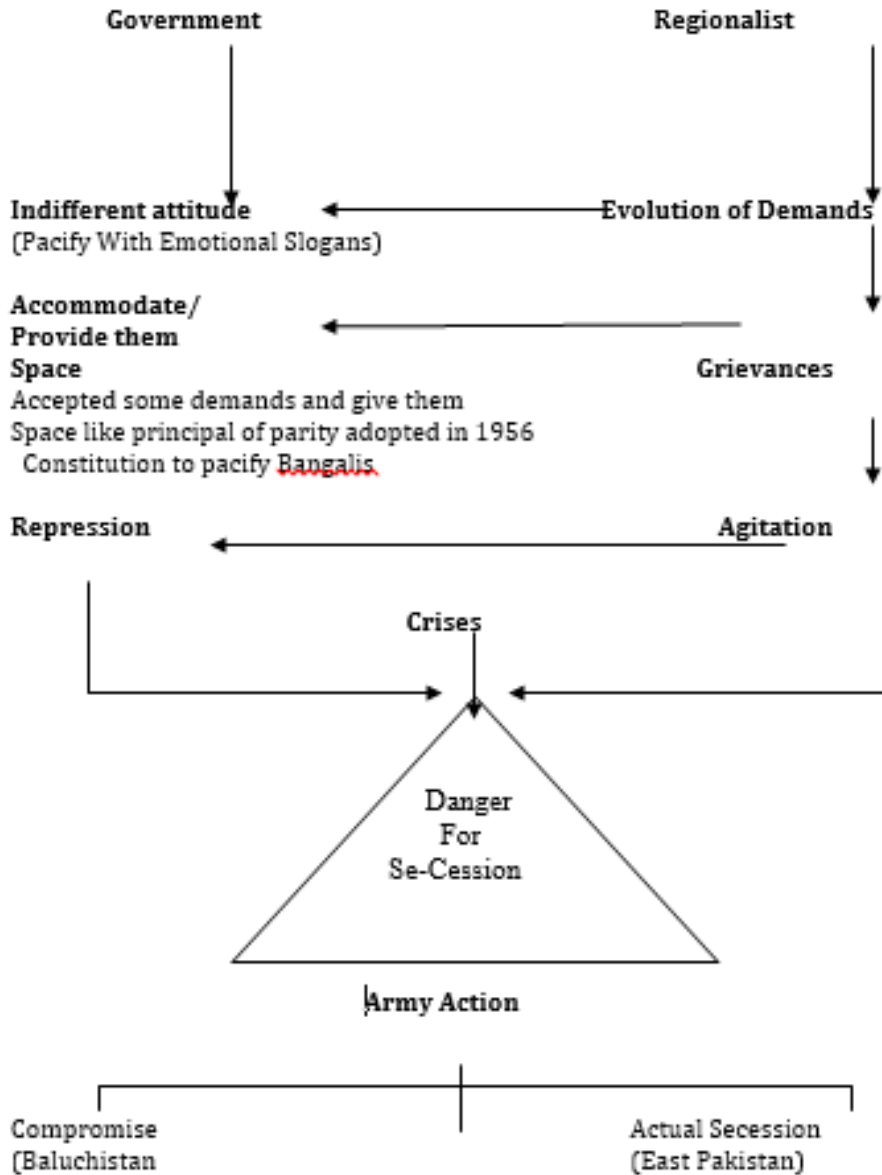
Regionalists Demand and Government Response Theory

The regionalist and government adopted different measures to achieve their desired results. This phenomenon developed the demand and response theory which is based on the following things

On the first stage when regionalist put some demands before government, the governments used different slogans to lessen the intensity of their demand and propagate these slogans as a unifying force for national integrity, such as the slogan of Islam was used in this regard in past history of Pakistan but this did not slow down the political and economic grievances of regionalists. On the second stage, when these grievances created alarming situation then the governments tried to give different political concessions to regionalists. For time being these concessions pacified these regionalists. Such as the principle of parity for representation of Bengalis in central legislative assembly, acceptance of Bengali as second language of Pakistan is an example of these concessions. But after short span of time these concessions proved unfruitful to fulfill the desires of regionalists then the regionalists used its last trump card to threaten the government by starting agitation. These agitations created anarchy and created law and order situation for governments and crises developed. To meet this crises government used its brutal force to crush these agitations but when situation became out of control then army was used as a last resort to save the integrity of the country. The past history of Pakistan showed that the governments in that situation used repressive measures to suppress these agitational movements this suppression through army action created two kinds of results in Pakistan. 1- Secession as occurred in East Pakistan in 1971. Army action created such situation which was favorable for internal and external separatists' elements and ultimately secession took place. The second outcome of this army action against regionalists some time created compromising atmosphere between regionalist leadership and government. Both sides realized the importance of dialog to resolve the issues; this thing took place in Baluchistan in number of times. The previous four uprisings in Baluchistan experienced this phenomenon. This theory can be shown in the diagram.

Regionalism in Pakistan

Regionalists Demand and Government Response Theory



Conclusion

Regionalism means the love of a particular region in preference to the country. Since its creation, Pakistan has been facing this problem. The regionalists have formed well

organized agitations and campaign, As a result of this kind of agitation Pakistan was divided in 1971. In the political field regionalist assumed four kinds of demands (1).the greater provincial autonomy and Separate province (2).the Removal of Economic disparities 3). The Greater representations in services. (4) If not then Se-cession from Pakistan.

Political elites have tried to deal with this dangerous problem in different ways. But they did not try to probe the real causes of regionalism in Pakistan. They did not react wisely on the demands of regionalists. From the past we should learn a lesson. Greater regional autonomy should be granted; all languages, all form of local cultures, and all sorts of talent associated with different groups must be recognized and encouraged. This is indeed golden measures for the integration of Pakistan.

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